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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 7/82)



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INTERNATIONAL

NEW BOOK DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Moscow MEZHDONARODNOYE KOMMUNISTICHESKOYE DVIZHENIYE: PRAVDA PROTIV VYMYSL OV in Russian 1981 (signed to press 4 Oct 81) pp 1 - 19, 139 - 161, 220-239, 319-320

[Annotation, table of contents, preface by V. V. Zagladin, excerpts of articles by V.I. Lazarev and R. A. Ul'yanovskiy from book "The International Communist Movement: Truth vs Fiction", edited by V. V. Zagladin, Politizdat, 45,000 copies, 320 pages]

[Text] The collection includes articles by Soviet and foreign scientists in which several urgent questions concerning the ideological struggle during the present stage are examined and in which the ideological subversive activity of imperialism and its accomplices against the international communist movement is unmasked.

The collection is intended for party and scientific workers and everyone who is interested in present problems in the theory and practices of the international communist movement.

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The New Alignment of World Forces and the Ideological Struggle Over Questions Concerning the Communist Movement (Preface) by V. Zagladin	

The present collection has been compiled from articles which are devoted to several important aspects of the ideological struggle over problems which concern the international communist movement and its ideological and theoretical base -- Marxism-Leninism.

It is evident that there is no need to prove that these problems really belong to those which are being most actively discussed in the modern world. There is nothing surprising in this. The dialectics of social development have shown rather convincingly that the greater the results are which communist parties, that are guided by Marxist Leninist teachings, have achieved in their struggle and in

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their constructive activity; the more active will the attempts of bourgeois ideologists and opportunists of various types to cast doubt on these teachings and to declare that the communist movement is "undergoing a crisis" or is "not passing the test of history" become. In other words, the sharpening of the ideological battles around Marxism-Leninism and the communist movement is directly proportional to the growth of their role in the life of modern mankind and to the increase of their importance as very important factors in social progress.

As is known, during each stage of social development, the ideological struggle in general -- just as the struggle around Marxist-Leninist teachings and the communist movement in particular -- acquires its own characteristic features. During each of these stages, an amount of quite specific arguments, considerations and subjects connected with the present-day content and features of the class antagonism on a world scale moves to the center of the discussion. The present time period also has its distinctive marks from this point of view.

As was pointed out during the 26th CPSU Congress, the present period is characterized for us by a special growth in the role of the ideological struggle. The intensity of the ideological battles has increased significantly or even unprecedentedly. It is apparently important to emphasize that this intensity is being predetermined by the major feature of the class antagonism in the world arena during the last quarter of the twentieth century, viz., by the qualitatively new ratio of forces between socialism and capitalism and between all the forces of peace and democracy and all the forces of war and reaction on a world-wide scale.

The ratio of forces is a complex and dynamic category affecting different spheres of human activity -- economics and military affairs, politics and ideology. Since the concept "ratio" of forces" is used extremely frequently in modern political language, it is apparently advisable to explain right away what meaning we attach to it here. Moreover, it is worthwhile to do this because the concept is often interpreted differently.

The concept of "ratio of forces" is most often used in the following cases. It is employed to describe (1) a military-strategic ("the ratio of the military forces of the United States and the USSR", "the ratio of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces") or (2) an economic ("the ratio of U.S. and Japanese economic power", "the ratio of the economic capabilities of the two world systems") situation. It is also used (3) when one wants to show the condition of the international situation on the whole and the dynamics and trends in its development ("the ratio of the forces of peace and the forces of war" "the ratio of the forces of relaxation and the forces of tension." It is used (4) to define the degree of the class struggle which has been reached within some state ("The ratio of forces of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie", "the ratio of forces of monopolistic capital and its enemies"). Finally, it can also be encountered (5) in works devoted to describing the general historical process on the whole, and the process of shifting from one formation to another on a world scale ("the ratio of the forces of capitalism and socialism", "the ratio of the forces of imperialism and its enemies").

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It is evidently clear that in all these cases the talk concerns different phenomena. At the same time, a definite connection, an interdependence, exists between them. Thus, the ratio of military forces (1), of economic forces (2) and the ratio of the class forces on an international scale (4) are, of course, essentially different. However, in our age when the socialist countries have become a very important component of the anti-imperialist forces and the forces of social progress, their military might and economic capabilities have been converted into vital elements of the overall ratio of class forces on an international scale.

Even from what has been said, it is evident that the ratio of forces is not something that has hardened and been established once and forever, but a process of development and struggle accompanied by quantitative and then qualitative changes. In this regard, the mentioned changes have both a spontaneous and a deliberate nature. In the first case, they appear as the result of the spontaneous action of the inner laws of development which are inherent in this society; in the second -- as the result of the deliberate use of these laws by revolutionary forces or of the resistance to the operation of these laws on the part of the forces of social regression.

It is understandable and natural that all the advocates of mankind's progressive development -- the advocates of socialism, democracy, and peace -- are deeply convinced that the ratio of social forces will, as a result of the action of these very laws of history, henceforth be changed in favor of the ideals advocated by them. They are deliberately doing everything necessary so that these changes will take place.

Here, having in mind the theme of the collection which is being offered to the readers, it is impossible not to mention the following. The posing by communists and the representatives of other revolutionary detachments of the question of the inevitability of further changes in the ratio of forces and, moreover, of the need for such changes is being subjected to fierce attacks by imperialist ideologists. The latter are trying -- by juggling similar, but quite different in meaning, terms -- to falsify the views and intentions of communists. Here is a typical example.

When communists talk about the tendency of the ratio of class forces in the world to change in favor of socialism and democracy and to the detriment of imperialism and reaction, they are reproached for the fact that they -- so it is said -- are striving to conduct a "policy of from a position of strength". However, we are talking here about a purely speculative statement of the question. You see, the policy of "from a position of strength" is a course which assumes the use of political influence, economic power, and military might to bind the will of one state to another, of one country to another. This is the imperialist course. Such a policy is absolutely foreign to communists.

A convincing testimony of this is the attitude of the USSR and the other socialist countries to the problem of the ratio of forces in the military sphere. As is known, the arms race and the striving to achieve military superiority have been and remain an integral part of the imperialist policy of "from a position

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of strength." However, such an approach is absolutely foreign to the countries of socialism. In describing our country's policy, L. I. Brezhnev declared, for example: "Concerning the Soviet Union, I repeat again and again: We are not striving for military superiority. It is not our intention, nor was it ever our intention, to threaten any state or group of states whatsoever. Our strategic doctrine has a purely defensive direction. The statement that the Soviet Union is building up its military power on the European continent to a scale uncalled for by the requirements of defense, has nothing in common with reality. It is a deliberate deception of the general public.

"In Europe, just as in all the other regions of our planet, we want peace, a firm peace. This is the fundamental basis of our foreign policy, its backbone. We are following this policy consistently and steadily."

When communists pose the question of the need to ensure a preponderance of forces on the side of social progress, they are pursuing the goal not of tying someone to their will but of defending the freedom of people against imperialism's attempts to restrain that freedom; they are seeing to the creation of conditions under which imperialism would be deprived of the opportunity to exert pressure on other peoples. In this regard, it is far from an accident that the USSR has become the author of ideas on concluding a general treaty on the inapplicability of force in international relations. In the interests of the struggle against a policy of force, the Soviet Union introduced for UN review the resolution "Concerning the Inadmissibility of a Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations" which was supported by all the socialist countries (and the absolute majority of the developing states). This resolution decisively rejected "all forms of domination, subordination, interference, or intervention and all forms of pressure -- whether political, ideological, economic, military, or cultural-- in international relations", as well as "the expanding practice of open and secret interference and intervention in the internal affairs of a state".²

In other words, imperialism is concerned about the accumulation of military forces in order to use them against social progress and to hinder the progressive course of historical development. Socialism and the worker and liberation movements require the maintenance of a preponderance of social and class forces over imperialism in order to eliminate the barriers created by it on the path of social progress and to remove the obstructions erected by it on the path of historical progressive development. The first contradicts and the second fully corresponds to the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

Some representatives of left-wing forces also at times express a certain anxiety in connection with the statement of the question on the inevitability (and historical necessity) of a change in the ratio of forces in favor of the cause of peace and social progress. The course of their arguments is approximately this. Since under modern conditions war between countries belonging to different social systems would in practice become a nuclear missile war and since such a war would create a potential threat to the existence of all mankind, it is necessary to avoid everything that would provoke such a catastrophe. In particular, the changes in the ratio of forces to the detriment of imperialism are giving birth to an "allergic" reaction on the part of the reactionary and militaristic circles

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of the capitalist world, evoking active resistance on their part, and -- perhaps -- increasing the chances for the origin of an armed conflict. The conclusion: The concept of the ratio of forces in our nuclear age "is inapplicable as a policy base in the international arena...."

The first part of these arguments is undoubtedly true. The taking of actions which would provoke a nuclear catastrophe is inadmissible without a doubt. However, is it possible to regard the changes in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of social progress as something which would provoke such a catastrophe? It is clear that this is impossible.

You see, these changes first of all have an objective nature on the whole and are determined by the conformities to law of history's movement. No matter who wants it or who does not want it, these changes are taking place and will take place until the appropriate laws of social development are in effect. Denying the legal conformity of the changes for the better in the ratio of forces in favor of the cause of peace and socialism means denying social progress in general.

Of course, these laws manifest themselves through the activity of people -- through the class, national and similar struggles. Thus, is it necessary, perhaps, to regard this struggle as an action which provokes a nuclear catastrophe and see to its cessation? Each revolutionary, yes and a quite democratically inclined individual, would apparently consider the one, who comes forward with such a proposal, as not being a completely normal fellow. He would be right. No one has it in his power to halt the struggle of a people working for their rights. "... Lenin -- that greatest of revolutionaries -- said: Revolutions are not made by fiat or by agreement. It is possible to add that it is impossible also to call off a revolution, class struggle, and the liberation movements by fiat or agreement. There is no force on earth which could turn back the inexorable process of renovating social life. Where there is colonialism, there will be a struggle for national liberation. Where there is exploitation, there will be a struggle for the emancipation of labor. Where there is aggression, there will also be a rebuff to it.

"The popular masses are trying to change the world and will change it."³ The denial of these truths is not in the least a leftist, democratic and -- especially -- a revolutionary position.

Of course, the yearning of people for freedom runs into the resistance of those who suppress and limit this freedom, that is, the colonialists, exploiters and militarists. It is they who often employ armed force in order to prevent the victory of the revolutionary and liberation forces. In this way, wars arise -- wars which have a just nature for people who are defending their rights and an unjust one for those who are trampling on these rights. Can they -- these wars -- create the threat of a broader conflict? Of course! But how can this be avoided? By banning the liberation struggle? No! By completely excluding the export of counterrevolution and attempts to maintain oppressive reactionary systems by force. The conclusion. One can (and must) avert the threat of a wider, especially a nuclear missile, conflict arising in this case, by expanding the active and effective struggle against the imperialist export of counterrevolution and the struggle for the realization of the right of people to

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self-determination which is stated in basic international law documents (and, consequently, formally recognized even by imperialist powers). "Under the conditions of the world's split into two systems, international security can be built up only on the full and strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence, in particular, on non-interference in the internal affairs of states."

The struggle for the peoples' exercise of the right to self-determination and against imperialism's interference in the internal affairs of states understandably assumes international solidarity with the fighters for freedom and assistance to them in the most varied forms such as those which -- in achieving the goal (that is, really supporting these fighters) -- do not lead to the origin of new international conflicts or to the expansion of existing conflicts.

Of course, imperialist forces never miss a chance to accuse socialist countries (or other states and social forces which are following a policy of solidarity with fighters for freedom) of the fact that their assistance to people, who are defending their social or national rights, allegedly is damaging the cause of peace, "destabilizing" the situation, etc., etc. The class line of imperialism, its policy of prolonging the existence of the system of robbing and oppressing countries and peoples, is manifested in this.

In fact, however, the support by the socialist countries and by revolutionary democratic and other democratic forces for a people's struggle for their rights contributes to strengthening the potential for peace and peaceful coexistence. Regimes, which originate in the wreckage of the colonial or neocolonial empires, and especially -- of course-- revolutionary democratic countries, which enjoy the support of socialist states (not to mention the newly emerging countries of socialism), these regimes are on the path of conducting a policy of peace; all of them are advancing from the positions of the struggle to halt the arms race and to ensure the dependable security of people. One does not have to go far for examples. During the last decade, the countries of socialism helped Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to achieve freedom or to defend freedom. All these countries, who are in the ranks of the non-aligned countries, are consistently defending the ideals of peace and disarmament and the ideals of dependable security for all people.

True, in reply to these views bourgeois propagandists usually object: "However, you see, Ethiopia fought against Somalia and Vietnam introduced its troops into Kampuchea! How can one maintain that they are peaceloving countries?"

Yes, in history, it has unfortunately happened that peaceloving countries have been forced to wage war -- hard protracted wars. However, what should be done if they are subjected to aggression? What should be done if they are forced to defend themselves?

There is no doubt that all true revolutionaries -- both in the developing countries and in all the other areas of the world -- would prefer a peaceful way to solve the problems facing them, obtain their independence without resorting to arms, and build the new society, which the appropriate people want to build, without being subjected to violence. Beginning with K. Marx and F. Engels, the struggle

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for a peaceful path to revolution has always been regarded, for example, by communists as an important task. This struggle is acquiring greater importance today considering that any armed conflict can potentially grow into a dangerous wide clash of a new character. In other words, the new nature of modern weapons comes forward as a new additional argument which confirms the correctness of the goal of communists of advancing to socialism using peaceful means where possible.

Those who are providing support to fighters for freedom also consider this circumstance. They prefer the political forms of this assistance, and achieve a political solution to problems which arise. Under necessary conditions, of course, this solution does not mean betrayal of the people struggling; it satisfies their lawful interests. However, these efforts can be crowned with success only if they meet the realistic understanding of the other side, that is, of those forces in the West which still count on keeping the old orders unchanged and which look for the "intrigues of Moscow" or of some other "foreign hand" behind any revolutionary speech of this or that people, forgetting that we are talking about the movement of history which cannot be stopped and that revolutions and revolutionary movements (including, for example, the American Revolution of the 18th Century!) always arose regardless of whether "Moscow" existed or not....

In basing their policy on the non-acceptance of liberation movements, imperialist politicians usually allude to the desire to secure "the national interests" of their country, for example, their energy (oil) or raw material supplies. However, experience demonstrates rather well that the path selected by them does not lead to this goal but leads away from it. During our age when people do not wish to resign themselves to social inequality, oppression, and dictation, the only possibility of solving the energy and raw material problems, facing several developed capitalist countries, consists of their establishing equal and mutually advantageous relations with the states of the former colonial world. Any other approach, especially attempts to act with force, to deny with force the right of nations to self-determination, can only give birth to a destabilization of the situation and subject the world to the prospects of a catastrophe. It is high time for the realism, which the ruling circles in a number of Western countries have displayed regarding relaxation, to be shown in this case also.

And so, the changes in the ratio of world forces continue and it is given to no one to stop them. These changes, which correspond to the interests of people, also took place throughout the Seventies in the world arena. These changes manifested themselves primarily in the following.

--The socialist countries from an economic respect have become during this period of time a great figure, surpassing each -- taken separately -- of the three existing centers of imperialism's power, i.e. the United States, Western Europe and Japan, and have moved in general into first place in the world according to many indicators.

-- From a military respect, the socialist commonwealth has achieved parity with the bloc of imperialist states. In the opinion of the CPSU, "the military-

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strategic equality which has been achieved between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism is an achievement of fundamental historical importance."⁵

-- After the break-up of the last (the Portuguese) colonial empire, the number, strength and influence of the developing countries, who are consistently advancing from the positions of the struggle against war and aggression and for the peaceful and independent development of all peoples, grew. In particular, this was clearly manifested during the 1979 and 1981 conferences of non-aligned nations.

-- The international worker movement has come forward with great determination in the defense of peace and for a shift to the relaxation of tensions. This has found its own convincing expression primarily in the results of the 1969 Moscow conference of communist and workers parties and of the regional meetings of communists in Europe, America, the Arab East, and the African countries which were held throughout the Sixties. It was also reflected in the positions of the Socialist International on international questions (Let us recall that the Socialist International held the first disarmament conference in its history in Helsinki in 1978). It also let itself be known in the speeches of trade unions of various stripes.

-- The positions of the working class and of democratic and anti-monopolistic forces have been considerably strengthened in the capitalist countries to the detriment of the forces of reaction and the forces of social and national oppression. This has let itself be known both in Europe and in Japan and the countries of Latin America.

-- Finally, in the ruling circles of many Western (especially Western European) countries such as France, the FRG, and Italy, the realistic approach to international affairs has been strengthened, and the understanding that only mutual destruction in the flames of a nuclear war can be the alternative to peaceful coexistence has gained the upper hand.

As can be seen, throughout the Sixties and Seventies the changes in the ratio of forces affected practically every aspect of the international and domestic life of states. Consequently, it is possible to talk about changes in the ratio of the military and, economic forces of the two systems, about changes in the ratio of forces between the adherents of peace and its enemies, and about the changes for the better in the ratio of class and political forces in the world arena and in individual capitalist countries, that is -- in the final analysis -- about changes in the ratio of world forces in general in favor of social progress.

Under the new conditions which have taken shape, the capabilities of the forces of peace and social progress are growing little by little, they are developing their own energy and offensive nature. This is bringing closer future positive changes for the better in international relations and new victories of the liberation movements in various regions of the planet.

However, this general tendency does not mean a decrease in the white-hot heat of the international class struggle. It especially does not mean that the reactionary

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and militaristic forces, whose capabilities -- of course -- have been narrowed to a certain degree, have become or are becoming passive, that they are giving up or planning to give up plans for social revenge. On the contrary, they are intensifying more and more with each day the scale of their operations which call for the return of lost privileges, the elimination of the military strategic parity which has been created, the restoration of their military advantage, and then -- as they hope -- the achievement of superiority over the forces of socialism and, by no means, not only in the military sphere.

Imperialism's attempts to regain lost positions are being expanded to all spheres of social life. We are also talking about the building up of the arms race which is, essentially, the material preparations for war. We are talking about attempts to overcome the economic difficulties of capitalist society by coordinating the forces of the main Western powers. At the same time, active operations aimed at weakening the economies of the socialist countries even up to the introduction of cruel export restrictions and the threats of a blockade are being undertaken. Finally, the sharp battles, which are taking place in the arena of foreign policy and in the foreign policy sphere in general, are well known. However, there are no doubts that the ideological struggle really occupies a completely independent, if not to say, a special place in imperialism's calculations.

Realistically thinking imperialist politicians well understand that the restoration of the military superiority which has been lost by the West is practically a hopeless task. It is clear that socialism will do everything to prevent this.

Despite the difficult problems which can arise and are arising in the socialist world, competition in the economic sphere also does not promise any serious successes to capitalism. The advantages of socialism as a social system, which have been multiplied by the work efforts of the people of the socialist commonwealth guided by the scientifically based economic policy worked out by the communist parties, are without a doubt capable of ensuring socialism's victory in the rivalry with the old order.

In the area of foreign policy, socialism firmly took the initiative into its hands many years ago, and it does not plan to surrender it to anyone no matter whom.

Ideology remains. Here the advantages of socialism are also evident. It is sufficient to read the numerous statements of bourgeois politicians and philosophers themselves who admit that the Western world, in striving at all costs to preserve and maintain social orders which are outdated, has gotten into a deep ideological blind alley, whose exit they are not in condition to find. Capitalism has lost the sense of the future. It regards the future with fear. Meanwhile, socialism is confident of the correctness of the path which has been selected by it and which coincides with the mainline path of development of all mankind-- with the path of unlimited social progress.

Nevertheless, it is to the ideological sphere that capitalism is trying to pay special attention, spending enormous manpower and resources on the carrying out of appropriate operations in the areas of science and propaganda. Why? Are

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our enemies seriously counting on the victory of their ideas? However, as was already mentioned, they are not only not confident of their ideas, they have in general lost to an enormous degree any attractive ideas whatsoever. What then is the matter?

The matter is that the estimates of the West's ideological strategists have been constructed not so much on the publicizing of some kind of ideals -- ideals of a positive nature -- as on the development of negative, unfavorable and essentially destructive views and approaches, and the attempt to introduce them into the camp of the fighters against imperialism. We are talking about, for example, not the offering of some kind of ideological or moral values, which would attract people by their novelty, progressiveness and the prospects opened up by them, to the people of the socialist countries as much as the attempt to undermine that system of ideological and moral values which has taken shape in the socialist world and which is ensuring its successful development. It is the same, if one speaks from the communist movement, about the revolutionary movement in general. Our enemies are trying to suggest to it a new path of social progress, undermine the faith of its adherents in social progress in general, break the bonds which have been established between individual revolutionary detachments, and sow distrust of each other between them. Such is the "super-windfall" of imperialist ideology and propaganda. Each society makes those discoveries which it deserves....

However, the deliberately negative and anti-historical nature of today's bourgeois ideology, just as that of the imperialist propaganda built on this ideology, in no way lessens its danger to the revolutionary movement. The fact is that society, when developing, is not immediately freed from the remnants of the past, from the legacy of even long ago overcome social orders. By speculating on these vestigial items (such as, for example, national distrust or the yearning for enrichment at the expense of society and for unprincipled money-grubbing, etc.), our enemies are trying to achieve their goals regarding socialist society, demoralize it, and undermine it from within.

They are acting in exactly the same way with respect to the communist movement. The propagandists of the monopolies are trying to exploit in their favor the objective differences in the position and interests of the various communist movement detachments. They are trying to transform small divergencies on some specific question or other into serious and prolonged disagreements, debates -- into quarrels, and quarrels -- into animosity. "Divide and conquer" -- this old and ancient principle of an exploiting society has not only not been forgotten but has practically become one of the main foundations of modern imperialist policy and the propaganda directed at undermining the positions and unity of the communist movement and all revolutionary forces.

What-- in the final analysis -- is the goal of the maneuvers which are being undertaken? This question can be answered only if one other important aspect of the problem of the ratio of forces is considered. It was already mentioned above that the ratio of forces manifests itself in different spheres -- economic, military and political. However, it also manifests itself in the ideological sphere. Whose ideological positions are stronger? Whose ideological unity is

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stronger? Whose ideological influence is greater? The ratio of forces in the world depends a lot on what answer life gives to all these questions. It is necessary to say straight out that one of the important sources for the change in the ratio of forces in favor of the cause of peace and socialism, which took place during the Seventies, was the strengthening of socialism's ideological influence, the growth in the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the ideas of the national and social liberation movement in the minds of peoples on all continents.

When speaking about the importance of the ideological component of the ratio of forces, one cannot fail to point out another side of the matter: The state of affairs at the front of the ideological struggle directly and noticeably affects all other sectors of the class antagonism in the international arena. Thus, let us say, the strengthening of socialist society's ideological unity appears as the factor which contributes to the strengthening of the cooperation of fraternal countries and to the successes of socialist creation both in the economic and in the political fields. On the other hand, any weakening of socialism's ideological foundation inflicts damage both on its domestic development and on its positions in the external world.

Considering what has been said, it is evident that the enemies of imperialism cannot fail to react in the required way to its ideological maneuverings. If one speaks specifically about the communist movement, it cannot fail to give the necessary reply to the imperialist tactic of splitting and separating revolutionary forces. This reply embraces, where necessary, both the purely ideological and the political spheres. Actually, it is possible to prevent a split only by strengthening the ideological basis of the unity, pursuing a policy of unity, and giving a rebuff to the policy and ideology of splitting.

One cannot also fail to mention another peculiarity of the modern ideological struggle of the imperialist forces, which directly touches upon their activity against the communist movement. They are trying to follow their diversionary line in propaganda and policy as subtly as possible, avoiding the gross methods used, for example, during the years of the "cold war", not to mention more recent periods. Thus, when performing the work aimed at undermining socialism, they are trying to cover it with the hypocritical mask of almost a "concern for the good of socialism." They, our enemies -- you see? -- are striving to defend the citizens of the socialist world, who possess an incomparably greater volume of social, political and other rights than do the citizens of the Western countries, from socialism and are coming out as adherents of freedom and progress. The maneuver is not a complicated one, but it is necessary to admit that it nevertheless deludes some people. Even if this error will have a temporary nature, even if life will dispel its poisonous fog with all the force of its persuasiveness in time; one cannot fail, however, to wage an active struggle against this form of delusions since today they are inflicting real damage, are interfering in the construction of socialism and the defense of its accomplishments, and are hindering the defense of the cause of general peace.

The propaganda of the monopolies is also using similar methods with respect to the communist movement. Today, it often comes forward as almost the defender of the interests of the communists in this or that country against... the

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communist parties of the countries of socialism and -- of course-- primarily against the CPSU. Bourgeois ideologists and politicians try to convince one that they allegedly are ready to admit the growing political role of the communist movement. As they say, "only one thing" -- the attachment of communists to a "certain system of principles", that is, to Marxism-Leninism, prevents this, but the main thing is the close friendly contacts with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the fraternal parties of the other countries of the socialist commonwealth.

These concoctions will also be exhausted in time and will lose their credit. This is completely natural -- you see, we are talking about deliberate and premeditated lies. However, today, these approaches of bourgeois propaganda are sometimes now encountering echoes among a small portion of the communists. They, these approaches, are nevertheless dangerous. Opportunistic and revisionistic elements, which always exist in the worker movement, and now -- of course -- the Maoists of a different stripe are actively supporting them. The necessity to give a reply -- a reply that is rather impressive and well reasoned -- to all these types of maneuverings by the class enemy is evident from this.

The collection "Mezhdunarodnoye kommunisticheskoye dvizheniye: pravda protiv vymyslov" [The International Communist Movement: Truth vs. Fiction] ⁶ has been called upon to acquaint the Soviet public with how the communist parties of the different regions of the world and, of course, our party -- the CPSU-- are fighting against the anticommunist fabrications of imperialist ideology and propaganda.

It is understandable that it is impossible in one collection to embrace all the aspects of the ideological struggle concerning questions on the communist movement. Nevertheless, many of these aspects are touched upon here. Indeed, one of the basic directions in imperialism's struggle against the communist movement is the yearning to "divide" it, that is, to tear the communist movement away from the Marxist-Leninist ideology and primarily from Leninism.

Our enemy excellently understands that one of the decisive sources of the strength of the revolutionary worker movement is its close ties to revolutionary theory. To undermine this tie and deprive the vanguard of the working class of its ideological foundation is a task which the class enemies of the proletariat have always assigned themselves. Because today Leninism embodies the most progressive views on the development of human society and because Leninism is the basis of the ideological views of the communist vanguard on the whole, it is understandable that the sharpness of imperialism's attacks has been directed in the first place to undermining Leninism, placing it in opposition to the views of Marx and Engels, and "proving" the groundlessness of this or that conclusion of Marxist-Leninist theory.

A number of articles (by comrades A. Yegorov, K. Khager, O. Borisov, and R. Ul'yanovskiy) which are devoted to revealing the historic role of Leninism and unmasking the imperialist and revisionist attacks directed against it, have been published in this collection.

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Another avenue of the imperialist criticism addressed to the communist movement is the attempt to discredit the socialist ideals of communists and distort the picture of real socialism and the socialist future of mankind in the eyes of the masses. From this viewpoint anti-Sovietism, which is called upon to cast a shadow on the first and greatest socialist country in the contemporary world, is playing a special role.

A number of articles in the collection (the articles of Comrades G. Filipov, G. Shakhnazarov and others) are also devoted to unmasking the attempts to compromise the ideals of socialism and their realization in the countries of our commonwealth.

It was already mentioned above that the enthusiasm of the bourgeois attacks against the communist movement is the striving to undermine and break its unity and achieve its disintegration, that is, the undermining of its importance and role as a world-wide political force. The corresponding constructions of bourgeois opportunistic ideologists are revealed in the articles of Comrades Y. Gavlin, S. M. Kshin, B. Pospelov, and others.

Finally, it is completely natural that several articles, being offered to the reader, are devoted to problems lying at the junction of international politics -- the struggle for the peace and security of people on the one hand and the class struggle and the activity of the communist movement as such on the other. These are the articles of Comrades R. Shtaygerval'd, N. Zagladin, V. Lazarev, and others.

These problems are extremely interesting by themselves, even for the Soviet reader-- the more so since the struggle of the views on international questions within the communist movement has recently become more and more noticeable and more and more acute. It, this struggle, is practically acquiring political importance, especially considering the circumstance that today's communist movement is an important element of the ratio of forces in the world arena.

Taken as a whole, the collection's articles convincingly testify that the communist movement is displaying the necessary vigilance with respect to the intrigues of the class enemy. At the same time, they show that a great deal still needs to be done in this regard. There are quite a few subjects and bends in this or that subject which deserve a more careful examination and, moreover, which must be examined in the name of achieving concrete successes in the struggles for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas. The decisions of the 24th - 26th CPSU Congresses and CPSU Central Committee plenums and, especially the landmark decree of our party's Central Committee on improving ideological and indoctrinational work, which gives clear and unequivocal orientations on this score, summon the Soviet scientific community to this.

At the Sources of the Collusion of the Maoist Leaders With the U.S. Imperialists by V. I. Lazarev

The collusion of the Maoist leaders with the U. S. imperialists has its own theoretical explanation. If one mentally traces the basic line of the Chinese

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Communist Party's leadership in international affairs after it fell under the control of the Maoists, it is possible to detect its oscillations without difficulty. Here is their outline:

--from the second half of the Thirties -- a growing trend in the direction of rapprochement with the United States especially after Hitlerite Germany's attack on the USSR with the simultaneous preservation of ties with the Comintern and the Soviet Union;

-- from the formation of the Chinese People's Republic -- an ebb in pro-imperialist activity and a turn toward comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and towards unity with the world socialist system;

-- from the second half of the Fifties -- a gradual withdrawal from the world socialist system and the establishment of contacts with Washington at the ambassadorial level, an increase in the criticisms of the policy of the USSR and the other fraternal countries parallel with a deepening repudiation by Beijing of the principles of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism; the declaration of a situation of struggle against the "three enemies: imperialism, modern revisionism, and reaction";

-- from the second half of the Sixties -- a new turn toward rapprochement with the United States as a result of the establishment of a military bureaucratic dictatorship regime in the Chinese People's Republic during the cultural revolution which expressed itself in the fact that Beijing's foreign policy lost its socialist content, in connivance with the American aggression in Indochina and in Beijing's disruption of the efforts of the USSR and other fraternal countries to organize a collective rebuff to this aggression;

-- the Seventies -- the forced development of China's ties with the United States in various directions, including politics, the economy, military affairs, scientific and technical cooperation, the exchange of delegations, etc.;

-- the end of the Seventies and the beginning of the Eighties -- the open collusion of the Beijing leadership with American imperialism which was marked by an agreement between them for the Chinese armed attack on socialist Vietnam and by parallel and joint actions to spread a counter-offensive against the position of world socialism, against detente and against the peace and rights of people. In the struggle between the socialist and capitalist world systems, China has actually moved to the side of the latter.

Thus, forty-five years of experience show that the international policy of the Maoists has constantly vacillated, and these were vacillations between world socialism and world capitalism.

What is the nature of these oscillations, what is their initial cause?

This question is not an idle one since a correct answer to it will provide an opportunity to understand why Beijing, which calls its country a socialist one,

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has found itself in collusion with American imperialism, and a chance to ascertain the nature of this collusion and that means also its degree of durability.

Meanwhile, quite a few contradictions can still be observed in analyzing the sources of the present policy of the Chinese People's Republic. Some press against the so-called Chinese centrism, a nationalistic tradition which has been characteristic of China for a long time, and look for the roots of the present policy of the Chinese leadership (including its collusion with Washington) in the darkness of time. At times, it seems that it is not so much Mao Zedong and his heirs who are guilty of Beijing's treacherous policy as it is the ancient Chinese emperors and philosophers who founded Chinese chauvinism and who devised many of the different tactical devices (such as "sit on a mountain and watch the fight of two tigers in the valley") which the Maoists only armed themselves with.

Others think that the oscillations in the policy of the Chinese People's Republic are the direct result of a struggle between groupings and leaders in the ruling upper crust. Apart from the fact that this approach smells strongly of subjective idealism, it automatically gives birth to an illusory hope: They say, let more obliging people ("centrists", "pragmatists", "realists", and heaven knows who else instead of the Maoist "leftists", "extremists", and "orthodox believers") become more powerful in Beijing -- and things will take a turn for the better. However, many foreign observers argued the same way with respect to Mao Zedong himself: They said, let him pass from the scene -- and the Chinese People's Republic will return to solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, with the people struggling for national and social liberation and with all peace-loving and progressive forces. However, what happened in actuality? Mao died, but Beijing's policy became even more anti-socialist and anti-Soviet and even more pro-imperialist, inflammatory and reactionary.

Of course, both the nationalistic tradition and the struggle for power exert an effect on the foreign policy of the Chinese People's Republic; however, they do not define its substance. This is determined by the class content of the policy whose Marxist-Leninist analysis is a great and serious task, as L. I. Brezhnev said in 1969.

Marxists regard politics as a relationship between classes. Maoism is a petty bourgeois ideology, and Maoists express the views and desires of the reactionary part of the Chinese petty bourgeoisie. As is known, the petty bourgeoisie occupy an intermediate position between the proletariat and the capitalist. Deprived of a solid economic base (small property ownership is not capable of providing it) and a clear class awareness and without having gone through the school of large-scale production and organized class struggle, they aim between the forces of socialism and the forces of capitalism -- between revolution and counterrevolution -- during periods of aggravation of the social situation. Lenin wrote about "the dozens of years of historical experience in all countries" which testify that the petty bourgeoisie today march with the proletariat, tomorrow are frightened by the difficulties of the revolution, panic at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, become nervous, throw themselves about, whimper, run from camp to camp...." The Beijing leaders have conducted themselves this way in the past and they are conducting themselves the same way now.

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Practical conclusions which directly pertain to the Chinese - American collusion, flow from these general theoretical propositions. This collusion cannot be durable. Since it is the result of petty-bourgeois instability, one can expect new oscillations from Beijing at any moment in its relations with the imperialists. When breaking the ties of the Chinese People's Republic with the world socialist system, Mao Zedong at the same time said in 1958: "After a certain number of years we will inevitably construct a large empire and we will be ready to land in Japan, the Phillippines and San Francisco".

Geng Biao, who was mentioned above, pointed out in a secret speech (the reliability of its text, which got into the press, was at the time confirmed by American diplomats): "At this time let the United States defend us against the influence of Soviet revisionism.... When we consider that the time has come, we will say 'be so kind as to pack up your things' to Uncle Sam".

A secret Chinese document, in which doubt was cast upon the future of Chinese-American relations, fell into the hands of the Americans in March 1980. It testifies to the double-faced position of Beijing with respect to its growing ties with Washington. In particular, it points out: "... the American government and capitalists are imperialists.... To a certain degree the fact that we are doing this is a tactic -- a combined struggle against hegemonism"¹⁰.

The Chinese leadership's distrust of the United States is a real social state of affairs: It reflects the instinctive animosity of the petty bourgeoisie towards the upper bourgeoisie -- an animosity which constantly destroys and devours on a mass scale small level ownership during capitalist competition. Today, Beijing's hegemonism is the hegemonism of Napoleons who have sprung up on the soil of small property ownership.

On their part, several American politicians are coming to the conclusion that it is "impossible to bet on the China card" and that the United States will not receive anything good if it uses the alliance with China to wage "a cold war". Evidently those American specialists on Asian affairs are correct who warn that "these friendly relations (the United States with the Chinese People's Republic -- V. L.) are in the best case not stable and could at any moment vanish into thin air because of such problems as Korea or Taiwan or simply because of those ideological differences which exist between our countries.... Just as before, the Chinese consider the United States their main enemy after the Russians". In this regard, Beijing "will be able to back up any future change in their policy with inter-continental ballistic missiles with nuclear war heads which will be capable of inflicting blows on the territory of the United States".¹¹ The Chinese and American rulers have now started a reckless card game. Beijing is playing the "American card", trying to receive economic and military help from the United States as a bribe for its anti-Sovietism; and at the same time trying in every way possible to drag America into a mutually destructive conflict with the USSR so that it can then establish a "Chinese age" on the wreckage of civilization. The promise that "the 21st Century will be the Century of the Chinese" since they "possess manpower and intellectual capabilities in abundance" has already appeared on the pages of the Beijing press.¹²

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Washington is playing the 'Chinese card', trying to change China into its minion-- a minion who would help to implement the obsession about American "world leadership". The United States does not conceal the fact that it is using Beijing's anti-Sovietism for its own purposes: as M. Pillsbury, a security advisor for the Senate of the American congress, has declared: "Closer American - Chinese ties will create a threat to Russia's eastern border" and the possibility of combined actions by the United States and the Chinese People's Republic in Asia will "remove a considerable part of the burden from NATO's shoulders."¹³

In estimating Beijing betrayal of the interest of the world liberation movement at its true worth, American imperialists are assigning it the role of an international police spy who will report to them "who is who in revolutionary movements abroad", and of a paid provocateur who must "react delicately to differences between revolutionary leaders" since "it is rather difficult for official American person-ages" to do this. They complain in Washington: "Angola would not have become such a fiasco for America if we had consulted with the Chinese. During the Eighties, situations, similar to Angola, will arise often".¹⁴

However, no matter how refined the Beijing leadership and the White House administration are in their policy, they will not be able to deceive the people. The Chinese-American collusion will certainly become bankrupt. The future is not in favor of the Beijing hegemonists and not in favor of the American imperialists. The future is on the side of those forces who are defending the cause of peace and socialism, relaxation and the rights of people. A future and truly socialistic China will undoubtedly take its worthy place in their ranks.

V. I. Lenin's Ideas and the National Liberation Movement by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy

V. I. Lenin, in developing the Comintern's strategy on the national colonial question, came to a conclusion of cardinal importance. He pointed out, we will emphasize once again, that Soviet Russia has become the center around which liberation movements, in particular the liberation movements in oppressed countries, will group themselves; that the objective necessity and an opportunity to unite the world's anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of international socialism exist; that the preservation of the independence of proletarian parties and groups in the East and the development of non-communist revolutionary anti-imperialist organizations which embrace the broad popular masses are obligatory; that the anti-imperialist movement will grow into an anti-capitalist one; that the peasants in the oppressed countries will have to play a large role during the subsequent phases of the world revolutionary process; and that the shift of backward countries to socialism, avoiding the capitalist stage, and the possibility of bourgeois-democratic revolutions developing into socialist ones under the direction of Marxist-Leninist parties are possible under the new post-October conditions.

These very important conclusions of V. I. Lenin have become the program for the activity of the international communist movement in regard to the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples which is regarded by Marxist-Leninists as an integral component part of the world revolutionary process. This international communist movement was guided by Leninist instructions both during the time of the work of the historically called for organizational union of communist parties--

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the Communist International, and during the subsequent era. Faithfulness to Leninist precepts, and in particular to those which pertain to the prospects for the development of the revolutionary process in the East and to the policy of communists in the oppressed regions of the world, and to the precepts put forward during the pre-October period and the first years after the victory of Great October, was the guarantee of the great victories won by the forces of peace, democracy and socialism whose vanguard is formed by communists.

The world has lived for more than six decades since Great October which was a very important frontier in the development of mankind and mankind's greatest creative act. With the victory of the Russian working class headed by the Leninist party, an unparalleled mighty factor arose in the world revolutionary process, and this process acquired an unbeatable nature from that time. The chain of imperialism was broken and the Soviet people who had won a victory over domestic and foreign counterrevolution began to construct a socialist society. A general offensive against imperialism began, and it has lost position after position since October 1917. The appearance of the world has been irreversibly changed since that time. The Soviet people have created a developed socialist society and are successfully advancing along the path to communism.

A world socialist system has arisen. The colonial empires have fallen. The international communist movement has been transformed into the most influential political force of modern times. The gigantic, historically important process of combining Marxism-Leninism with the liberation movement of workers is being expanded wider and wider. The worker movement is becoming stronger in the countries of developed capitalism, and the class battles of the workers are expanding. Liberated countries with a population of more than 150 million people have selected a socialist orientation. The law of the uneven development of imperialism -- an unevenness which leads to an aggravation of the contradictions within this doomed system -- continues to operate with unbeatable force, and its "periphery" -- the states which are being subjected to neocolonial oppression -- are challenging the imperialist rule economically and politically. The anti-imperialist struggle has truly become world-wide. By receiving the powerful support of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth, it is expanding with greater and greater force. The new countries and regions "are breaking away" from world capitalism. The victories of the socialist revolution in Vietnam and of the national democratic revolution in Laos were a new demonstration of this universal historical trend. The relaxation of international tensions, for whose strengthening and further development the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist commonwealth, and Marxist-Leninist parties are struggling, contributes to an enormous degree to the intensification of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle of the people.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized in the report to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "Communists are far from prophesying the 'automatic collapse' of capitalism. It still has quite a few resources. However, the events of recent years confirm with new force that capitalism is a society which has no future."¹⁵

The policy of the CPSU, of other ruling parties in the states of the socialist commonwealth and all fraternal communist and worker parties which are moving in

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the vanguard of the "socialist international revolution against imperialism", which was begun during the 20th Century, is a Leninist policy and is its continuation and development. This pertains especially to the policy of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties with respect to the liberation movements in the countries which are being oppressed by imperialism.

Marxist-Leninists are coming out in favor of strengthening the alliance of the USSR and the countries of the socialist commonwealth with the people who are fighting for liberation from imperialist oppression, and are in favor of unbreakable friendship between the world of socialism and the countries who have freed themselves from the colonial yoke and who are moving towards the path of independent progressive development. In supporting the anti-imperialist struggle of the people, they note that the nature of imperialism has not changed, that neocolonialism is a system of economic, political, military, and ideological remedies with whose help the imperialist powers are trying to maintain their positions in the developing countries; and that the struggle against neocolonialism is a very important task of people who have achieved political independence.

Marxist-Leninists are in fact proving their solidarity -- which is based on international principles -- with the people who are struggling to eliminate the last centers of colonialism and to defeat racist regimes.

Marxist-Leninists warn against underestimating the danger of imperialism's call-- at the time when it appears suitable -- for direct methods of suppression, violence, aggression, and intervention which are characteristic of the age of colonialism; and caution that there are no crimes which imperialists would not commit in trying to preserve or restore in modernized form their dominance over the peoples of the former colonies. Reality has repeatedly confirmed the validity of these warnings.

Marxist-Leninists point out two possible prospects for the development of the former colonial countries -- a breaking away from capitalism or development along the capitalistic path and movement along the capitalist channel. The first prospect opens up the possibility for insuring social and economic progress and independence, for overcoming social conflicts in favor of the people, and for raising the standard of living of the workers. The development of capitalism in Afro-Asian countries is not in condition to insure high growth rates. It aggravates class contradictions, it dooms the popular masses to new sufferings, and predisposes to neocolonial dependence. Marxist-Leninists are the principle adherents and propagandists of a social orientation in the domestic and foreign policy of the liberated countries.

Marxist-Leninists emphasize: Only in a struggle against imperialism, in union with the socialist commonwealth and by relying on the working masses, can national democracy operate as revolutionary democracy and insure the development of its country along the path of social progress. On the other hand, non-proletarian democracy degenerates and ceases to be democratic. It becomes an anti-national force.

Marxist-Leninists relate the following to the main avenues of the progressive changes which are taking place during recent years in many liberated countries: the transfer of the center of gravity in industrial development to the state sector, the elimination of feudal land ownership, and the limitation and control of foreign capital, which have as their goal the establishment of the young states' effective sovereignty over their national riches and the training of their own cadres. Here, we are talking about transformations which are taking place not only in countries with a socialist orientation, although they are occurring with greater fullness in them.

The CPSU and all fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties welcome militant anti-imperialism, the resolute defense of economic and political independence, and the striving to carry out progressive transformations from various class positions; and they support every political force which has not lost these qualities. Marxist-Leninists and the socialist commonwealth are convinced that a socialist orientation best reflects the hopes of the working masses in Asian and African countries under modern conditions, and that many of the countries on these continents are coming to it. At the same time, they do not impose their views on the young states in any way, they completely respect the political choice of each people and they are ready to support them in progressive undertakings on the path selected by them. The Soviet Union emphasizes that it does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, and that respect for the right of each people and each country to select its own development path is a firm principle in its Leninist foreign policy. However, the CPSU--just as other Marxist-Leninist parties does not intend to conceal its views. In the developing countries, just as everywhere, Lenin's party is on the side of the forces of democracy, social progress and true national independence and regards them as its own brothers-in-arms and comrades in the struggle.

Marxist-Leninists describe the peasantry of the developing countries as a powerful revolutionary force, but at the same time as a primordial force. Oscillations and contradictions both in ideology and policy are peculiar to it. And it is understandable: The broadest masses of the peasants in the developing countries have until now lived in terrible poverty and lawlessness under the conditions of insurmountable feudal and at times pre-feudal relationships. Marxist-Leninists point out that the most reliable way to enlist the peasantry in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress is the creation of a firm alliance between them and the working class.

Marxist-Leninists consider the struggle for equal political and economic relations and cooperation between developed states and the former colonial and dependent countries -- relations such as those which the socialist states established with them a long time ago -- to be their international duty. Marxist-Leninists are actively coming out in favor of the new economic order.

Marxist-Leninists are confirmed and highly principled fighters for the relaxation of international tensions. The policy of detente which is being conducted by the USSR and the other socialist countries is enjoying more and more recognition in the countries which have entered on the path of independent development comparatively recently and also in those which are still struggling against imperialism.

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The relaxation of international tensions is favorable not only for economic and cultural development but also for the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation since it creates the best conditions for demonstrating solidarity and for providing international assistance to struggling people. Such victories of the liberation movement as the unification of Vietnam on a socialist basis, the winning of independence by the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies, the establishment of the power of anti-imperialist and progressive forces in these countries, the powerful development of the people's revolution in Ethiopia and Afghanistan and of the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran; and such large historical changes for the better as the entrance of all the new countries on the path of socialist orientation, the intensification of the democratic movement, and the decisive and coordinated appearance of young states in the international arena have taken place under the conditions of relaxing international tensions. The relaxation of tensions, as it is understood by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, does not at all mean reconciliation with the existing state of affairs or a weakening of the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and reaction. On the contrary, it supposes the intensification of the struggle in this direction and the offering of an opportunity to people to decide their fate themselves without interference in their internal affairs.

The revolutionary changes for the better, which have taken place in the countries of Asia and Africa during the past decade, are truly majestic. The anti-imperialist movement has never been so broad and aggressive. The positions of socialism in the former colonial countries have never been so solid and its prospects so reassuring. The people, who have been liberated from colonial dependence have never played such a prominent role in international life. The cooperation of the developing countries and the socialist commonwealth of nations has never been so comprehensive, constant and firm.

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 7 October 1979
2. Ibid., 15 December 1979
3. L.I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim Kursom" [A Leninist Course], Moscow, 1974, Vol 4, p 336.
4. Ibid., pp 336-337.
5. "Materialy Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 23 Iyunya 1980 Goda" [Materials on the 23 June 1980 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee], Moscow, 1980, p 13.
6. Articles, published in the magazine VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, form the basis of the collection.

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7. Cf. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye Kommunisticheskikh i Rabochikh Partiy. Dokumenty i Materialy. Moskva, 5 - 17 Iyunya 1969 G." [International Conference of Communist and Worker's Parties. Documents and Materials. Moscow, 5 - 17 June 1969], Moscow, 1969, p 69.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 37, p 264.
9. Cf. PRAVDA, 14 May 1977.
10. WASHINGTON POST, 31 March 1980.
11. Ibid., 27 March 1980.
12. ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 9 June 1979.
13. NEWSWEEK, 21 April 1980.
14. Ibid.
15. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol 5, p 480.

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TIKHONOV REVIEWS ECONOMIC, SOCIAL POLICY

Prague PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 4-10

[Article by Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "Unity of Economic and Social Policies Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism"]

[Text] We are beginning the year in which our people will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--the first multinational socialist state in the world. A long and glorious path has been traveled. The country enters the anniversary year at a time when our society has reached an important historical landmark--the stage of mature socialism.

Developed socialism is the triumph of the Leninist economic and social policy of the Communist Party, which is the guiding and directive force of the Soviet society. Additionally, the demands on the party and state policy increase in this stage, for tasks of economic and social progress and communist construction which are immense in their historical significance, scope and complexity are being carried out. Recognizing its responsibility, our party, on the basis of creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the generalization of practical experience and scientific analysis of concrete reality, is revealing possibilities and creating conditions for fuller disclosure of the creative forces of socialism and their efficient utilization in the interests of the entire society and each individual.

It is precisely on this basis that the 26th CPSU Congress advanced the program for the country's further economic and social development. The accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee presented by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, gives a comprehensive theoretical and political substantiation for this program and indicates ways to implement it. It was concretely embodied in the Main Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR During 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990 which was approved by the Congress, and in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan which was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. This program is an embodiment of the unity of the economic and social policy and takes into account the peculiarities of the interaction between economic and social processes in the modern stage.

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The principle of unity of the economic and social policy of the ruling Communist Party predictably ensues from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the goal of public production under socialism. Long before the revolution, during the development of the first Party program, V. I. Lenin wrote that this goal consists in providing for complete well-being and free, all-around development of all members of the society.* The priority of social goals thus has the force of an objective law in the sense that with public ownership of the means of production and distribution of labor, successful solutions to social problems serve not only as a goal, but also as a stimulus and an important factor in the development of production.

The assignment of priority to social goals, which reflects the long-term, fundamental tasks of the national economy under the condition of socialism, have always guided the economic policy of our party and the Soviet state and determined the strategy and tactics for the development of socialist production. "The point of departure for the Party's political approach to the economy," emphasized L. I. Brezhnev, "has been and will be an unchanging program requirement--everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man."*

But the overall pattern has not always manifested itself in the same way under specific historical conditions and in various stages of socialist construction. In practice the question of the interconnection between economic and social tasks has always appeared in concrete form. It is manifested as the question of the distribution of the national income, the ratio between accumulation and consumption, and so forth.

At the dawn of Soviet power and during the course of the construction of the fundamentals of socialism, economic and social problems were so closely interwoven and were so critical and immediate that frequently the boundaries between them were indistinguishable. While recovering from economic ruin, the Party and state resolved such essential problems as the elimination of unemployment and the provision of full employment for the population, the achievement of technical equality with industrially developed countries, the fight against illiteracy of the overwhelming majority of the people, and the equalization of the profound socio-economic and cultural differences between the central regions and the former national outskirts of Russia.

Every one of our five-year plans was a marked stage in the development of the economy and in the planned resolution of social problems. But the possibilities of realizing the Party's programmed goals in the area of improving the national well-being were limited for a long period of time because of a number of domestic and

*See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 6, p 232.

*L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [On a Leninist Course], Vol 8, Moscow, 1981, p 668.

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international conditions. Large amounts of material and financial resources were necessary to industrialize the country, collectivize agriculture and strengthen the state's defense capabilities. Through an economic blockade the imperialist countries tried to suffocate the young Soviet republic and prevent it from creating its own highly developed industry and collective agriculture based on advanced technology. Almost one-third of the entire period of the existence of our socialist state was taken up by repulsing military aggression from the imperialists and restoring the national economy, which narrowed the possibilities of resolving social problems more rapidly. It is known, for example, that the attack from fascist Germany alone cost the Soviet Union about 30 percent of its national wealth and more than 20 million lives of Soviet citizens. Every honest, unprejudiced person understands how difficult it is to heal such wounds.

But even during those difficult times there were no dangerous contradictions between the economic and social development in the society, for the Party policy always responded to the essential interests of the people. The Soviet people knew and recognized that truly vital problems were being solved first and that the Party was doing everything it could to improve the well-being of the people. This is the basis for the moral and political unity in the country and the confidence of the masses in the Party of communists. Experiences convinces us that something of principal importance lies herein. It is not just that the policy does not tolerate subjectivism, arbitrarily giving preference to one aspect or another--economic or social, but that the policy of the Party and the state, their decisions about priorities, were understood and supported by the people. Anyone who does not recognize this inevitably encounters both economic and political difficulties.

Consistently utilizing the advantages of socialism, our Party was able to lead the country to the vanguard of economic and social progress and to achieve large successes in all areas of the life of the society. The country has entered the period of developed socialism, which is characterized both by a new wealth of possibilities related to the incomparably growing economic potential and by a new scope of problems which much be resolved. As compared to the second half of the 1930's, when the USSR constructed the bases of socialism, the national income has now increased almost 21-fold and industrial production has grown almost 34-fold. The Soviet Union has taken first place in the world in the production of many important kinds of products, including petroleum, steel, cement, mineral fertilizers, wheat, cotton, long-distance electric locomotives and steam locomotives. The socio-economic achievements of the 1970's played an especially important role in the country's social development.

The significance of what has been achieved by the Soviet people is determined not only by the quantitative indicators, but also by the profound qualitative changes that have taken place in the socio-economic life of the people, under whose influence there have arisen a number of principally new factors which bring about a unique interconnection between economic and social progress under the conditions of developed socialism. What specifically are these factors?

First, the powerful economic potential, the highly developed productive forces of mature socialism not only make it possible to solve a large number of economic and social problems simultaneously, but also, directly and indirectly, place at the

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center of the Party's practical policy the task of more fully satisfying the diverse material and cultural demands of the people. In other words, in the stage of mature socialism the social direction of the development of the national economy becomes more marked and the economy turns more toward solving problems related to improving the well-being of the people.

Second, social progress, as a goal and a final generalizing result of the growth of public production, simultaneously becomes an increasingly important prerequisite for further economic growth; this reverse connection, that is, the effect on economic development of social factors as the standard of living of the people, the degree of educational and spiritual growth and social interrelations, is becoming immeasurably stronger.

Third, new, more favorable conditions for solving social and economic problems are created by the political system of developed socialism which has taken form as a result of the increased role of the Communist Party in the life of society, the growth of the state with a dictatorship of the proletariat into a nationwide socialist state, and the deepening and all-around development of socialist democracy. This system provides for creative, motivated participation of the broadest masses of workers in the economic and social process.

The factors that have been named, however, do not operate automatically; they can produce positive results only if the Party and state utilize them purposefully. Under the conditions of the gigantic growth of the scale of the national economy, the interdependence of its parts, the closer interconnection of all social processes and the increased complexity of the tasks, it is especially important to provide political leadership and administration which will guarantee that there will be no contradictions between economic growth and social progress, between accumulation and consumption, between statewide and local interests. This is achieved by combining the scientific substantiation of the policy and the enlistment of the broad masses of workers in the processes of its development, the adoption of the decisions and participation in administration. Democratically forming and extensively discussing our national economic plans, checking on the proposals of specialists and experts during the course of this, and revealing how closely they coincide with the expectations of the masses contribute not only to the correctness of the decisions and the improvement of the plans, but also the peoples' understanding of this correctness, their awareness of what is possible to do and what is still impossible, and their awareness that the entire policy corresponds to the interests of the workers.

It is precisely here--in the consistent development of democratism in the area of socio-economic relations and in the increased role of the masses in the administration of the economy--that the Party sees an important guarantee against the appearance of contradictions between economic and social factors. It is precisely on this basis that we are achieving, to use Lenin's words, a situation wherein the aware worker feels himself to be not only the master at his own plant, but a representative of the country, where he feels his own responsibility.*

*L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 8, Moscow, 1981, pp 734-735.

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The socio-economic policy followed by the Party and the Soviet state provides for our society's progress by joining together with the creativity, initiative and energy of the masses. The basis for the successful solutions of social problems and the implementation of the broad program for improved national well-being which the Party earmarked for the 1980's is the further advancement and improvement of socialist production. It is known that one cannot use for social needs or distribute that which is not produced, and if one is to set larger-scale social tasks of greater complexity, the corresponding steps must be taken in the economy in order to carry them out. Therefore the leadership of the national economy forms the core of all of the activity of the Party and state under the conditions of developed socialism.

What are the main directions of our strategy which is being realized during the current five-year period?

Above all, in the 1980's we must complete a changeover of the national economy to the path of intensive development and further increase production efficiency.

The new five-year plan envisions that final national economic results will increase more rapidly than labor and material expenditures. In the past economic growth has relied mainly on high rates of capital investments, on extensive factors: then expenditures of material and labor resources increased more rapidly than the national income did. Now we intend to have a principally different ratio between expenditures and results. Specifically, under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan capital investments will increase by 10.4 percent and the national income, by 18 percent. In other words, we are speaking about utilizing the society's resources according to the principle formulated by L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress: "The economy should be economical."

The main factors in advancing in this direction are to be economizing on labor and increasing the growth rates of its productivity, as a result of which under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan it is intended to obtain 90 percent of the increase in national income, about 90 percent of the increase in industrial output, and all of the increase in the output of agricultural products. It should also be noted here that under the conditions of socialism economizing on labor is not the same thing as economizing on wages. A reduction of the wage level cannot provide an economic advantage for us any more than can a reduction of expenditures on social needs. It is not intensification of labor, but precisely intensification of production, better organization of it, the application of the achievements of science and technology, and mechanization and automation of work that must increase labor productivity and the efficiency of production.

Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, as a result of the aforementioned measures, which have come to be called "rationalization" in the capitalist West, 17 million workers will be released in the national economy, or, as we say, "conventionally released," for, of course, they will not comprise a reserve army of unemployed, but will occupy--and this distinguishes our measures from capitalist "rationalization"--jobs in other branches of production where the labor force is inadequate.

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Efficient utilization of raw material, fuel and energy, and other material resources acquires special national economic significance now. With the modern scale of production, to maintain and, the more so to increase, the volume of the extraction of raw material and fuel is becoming more and more costly. Shifting the material and technical base of the extraction branches of industry to the less inhabited and less accessible regions of the west and east involves a considerable increase in expenditures. Therefore the effect from economizing on each ton of petroleum, coal and metal becomes more and more appreciable. It must be noted that we still expend more raw material and energy for each unit of national income as compared to the best world indicators. Measures for greater economy establish an economical attitude toward the public good both among production leaders and among the broad masses of workers.

An important direction for the intensification of production is improving the utilization of fixed production capital. It is increasing rapidly in the USSR so it is even more important to overcome shortcomings in its utilization more rapidly and to develop industrialization of capital construction and reconstruction of existing enterprises as well as to accelerate the startup and assimilation of new production capacities. The implementation of programs for production, housing and cultural and domestic construction and the training of skilled personnel is extremely important. Serious attention is being devoted to the creation of comfortable modern conditions for labor and living and to making sure that the funds for the social development of enterprises, cities and villages are used precisely for their intended purpose, fully and within the established time periods. Here economic and social goals practically merge into one.

The same thing can be said about providing for high quality of products and improving their consumer and technical and economic properties, which are considered to be both a factor in increasing production efficiency and a means of better satisfying the demands of the population who are motivated to improve the overall quality of goods. Products that are produced in 1981-1985 will be updated more rapidly.

In order to carry out the large-scale and complex tasks related to increasing production efficiency and improving product quality, it is necessary to accelerate scientific and technical progress. To bring all branches of the national economy up to the vanguard of science and technology--this is the way the 26th Party Congress formulated the main task in this area. The main direction here is the development and improvement of implements of labor and the introduction of advanced technology. The creation and the organization of production of systems and sets of machines and equipment will make it possible to maximally mechanize and automate the most important production processes in industry, construction, agriculture and transportation, and to eliminate manual, less skilled and heavy physical labor. The production of miniature electronic control devices and industrial robots that are being applied more and more extensively open up truly revolutionary possibilities.

The fact that the Party will continue its strategic course toward changing the national economic proportion in favor of branches that produce consumer goods can be considered an essential feature of the five-year plan. This is what explains

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the fact the production of products of branches of industry of group "B" is increasing somewhat more rapidly than production of products of group "A." The expansion of the production of goods for the population and the essential improvement of their quality constitute an important indicator of the increased social direction of the economy. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the output of products from branches of the food industry is to increase by 22 percent, of light industry--by 19 percent, and the production of goods for cultural-domestic and household purposes--1.4-fold. Still, such base branches of industry as electric energy, metallurgy, chemistry and machine building will continue to play a decisive role in developing the national economy and obtaining high final results.

The emphasis on the social direction of the Soviet economy is also reflected in the intensive formation of the country's unified agro-industrial complex. The food program developed in the USSR on the initiative of L. I. Brezhnev is oriented toward improving the supply of food products for the population. The food program, as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the November (1981) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is the central problem of the entire five-year plan both on the economic and on the political planes.

Almost one-third of all the capital investments in the national economy are being allotted for the development and improvement of the unified agro-industrial complex. Moreover, a large part of them are being used directly for the advancement of agricultural production. As a result, as much money will be allotted for the development of the branch in 1981-1985 as was allotted during the entire period from 1918 through 1970. This will make it possible to accelerate the growth rates of agricultural production, to increase the average annual yield of grain by almost 35 million tons during the five-year plan, and to increase meat production by more than 2 million tons.

Thus the program for deep social transformations in the 1980's relies on a firm economic base which is provided for by the corresponding deep changes in production.

While recognizing the truly historic accomplishments of the Soviet people and evaluating highly the possibilities of further economic and social progress, our party also sees clearly the difficulties, shortcomings and unsolved problems. We did not succeed in achieving all of the earmarked goals. Not all branches of industry are operating with the necessary efficiency. The national economy still has bottlenecks and disproportions. There are various reasons for this. They include the effects of objective circumstances that do not depend on our will, incomplete developments in planning and administration, insufficient demandingness on the part of a number of party agencies and economic managers, violations of discipline and manifestations of bad management. But, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, perhaps the major reason is that we have still not fully overcome the forces of inertia, tradition and habit that took form during that period when, because of our lesser capabilities and other conditions, it was not so much the qualitative as the quantitative side of the matter that came to the fore.

Our economy is developing without crises and it does not experience the vices that inhere in capitalist production, but it requires constant improvement of administration, taking into account the effects of objective economic laws, and it cannot

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withstand uncontrolled behavior any more than it can withstand controlled natural processes. The essence of the tasks that have now been set by the Party and state consists in better utilizing the advantages of the socialist system of economy and the immense economic possibilities and reserves. This will make it possible, under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and in subsequent years, to successfully resolve the large problems of socio-economic development which we face.

When we speak about the new level and scope of social tasks carried out during the period of mature socialism on the basis of the forward development of the socialist economy we are proceeding not from a narrow understanding of the problem in the spirit of purely consumer "ideals," but from the task of achieving positive strides in the entire way of life of the Soviet people.

As a result of the implementation of measures directed toward advancing the economy, the Party and state provide for a constant growth of the real incomes of the workers. The money allotted by the state under the centralized policy toward improving the national well-being amounted to 16.5 billion rubles during the Seventh and Eighth Five-Year Plans, and 32 billion rubles during the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans, including 12.8 billion rubles for increasing the earnings of workers and 22.5 billion rubles for increasing the earnings of employees. And the earnings of workers and employees and the incomes of kolkhoz workers also increased because of the increased skills and increased labor productivity of each worker. As a result, during the past decade the real per capita income increased approximately 1.5-fold. Under the current five-year plan there is to be a further 16.5-percent increase in real per capita incomes. Public consumption funds will increase by 23 percent, which will significantly augment the earnings of the workers. And one can also not fail to take into account the fact that all this is taking place while the prices for the main goods in mass demand, payments for apartments and urban transportation have remained the same for several decades.

Along with the overall increase in the incomes of the population, there is a developing process of their equalization. This is provided by further increasing the minimum wage and also by distributing public funds in such a way as to decrease the differences in incomes and the conditions for the satisfaction of the most important social demands of various segments of the population (free education of children, medical service, pensions, stipends and so forth). In the stage of mature socialism, equalization of social conditions on the territorial plane becomes more important. To this end, specifically, under the new five-year plan in the regions of Siberia, the Far East and the northern region the construction of housing and the entire socio-cultural complex is to proceed at more rapid rates and the supply of consumer goods for the population will improve.

The policy of the Party and state is leading to a steady expansion of the socio-economic rights of the Soviet people. Under the conditions of mature socialism the economic base of socialist democracy has expanded, the rights of citizens have been reinforced with more substantial material content and the guarantees of these rights have become more solid, which is reinforced in the new USSR Constitution. Thus while providing the right to work the state also provides free occupational training, contributes to increasing labor skills and training in new specialties, develops the system of occupational orientation and work placement, and introduces

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progressive forms of organization and payment for labor. All this makes it possible to organically combine the interests of the worker, the collective and the society, and to utilize more fully the possibilities of the socialist labor potential.

The USSR Constitution establishes the right to housing for the first time. It is reliably guaranteed by the widespread, large-scale housing construction. State funds are being used to construct 85 percent of the housing in the country. Under the past five-year plan more than 50 million Soviet citizens (every fifth one) improved his living conditions. The following is also relevant: we have no uninhabited, neglected buildings as one frequently encounters in capitalist countries where simple people do not have the money for costly housing. Payment for apartments in the USSR does not exceed 3 percent of the family earnings. The state pays the main expenses for maintaining the housing supply--in 1980, for example, it paid almost 7 billion rubles for these purposes. For more than a half a century payments for apartments in the USSR, as already noted, have remained unchanged, although the income of the population and state expenditures on housing construction and its operation (housing has become much more comfortable and well-arranged) have increased.

The social policy of the Party and state is characterized by a profound humanism. This is clearly manifested in their concern for the family, children, pensioners and invalids. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and in subsequent years the country will implement a new system of measures for improving the life of mothers and the younger generation, and for increasing state assistance to families with children and youth. We are speaking about increasing the incomes of families with children and improving their living and domestic conditions, especially young families, and about further developing the network of children's preschool institutions so that each family can take advantage of their services, increasing the amount of free time of mothers, and creating better conditions for raising children. Living conditions are also being improved for labor veterans who are taking a well-deserved rest. The minimum amounts of old-age and disability pensions for workers, employees and kolkhoz workers are being raised, as is the pension for the loss of the breadwinner. New measures are envisioned for material and domestic support for participants in the Great Patriotic War. As calculations show, because of these measures, incomes will increase for approximately 50 million Soviet people.

Any measure--be it increasing monetary incomes, improving social security, or solving the housing problem--is directed toward the all-around and harmonious development of man. "Mature socialism," said L. I. Brezhnev at the close of the 26th CPSU Congress, "provides for the broadest possibilities to reveal the capabilities of each citizen. The point is to realize these possibilities."*

There is a process taking place in the Soviet Union whereby all classes and social groups of the society are coming closer together. Social differences between the

*L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 8, Moscow, 1981, pp 734-735.

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city and the country continue to be erased. Physical and mental labor are more and more closely interwoven in the production activity of millions of workers. Having deeply analyzed these social strides, the 26th CPSU Congress set forth provisions to the effect that the establishment of a classless structure of society will obviously take place mainly and fundamentally within the historic framework of developed socialism. The leading force of this process is the modern working class; its revolutionary ideology and morality, its collectivist psychology and its interests and ideals are now being assumed by all segments of the Soviet society.

It was noted at the Congress that the elimination of interclass differences sets new tasks for the social policy: it is being concentrated more and more on overcoming the differences that go beyond the framework of individual classes and on the solution to problems that require the most attentive accounting for the peculiarities and interests of each group of the society.

The complete elimination of the disparity in the levels of development of the center of Russia and the former national outskirts is an historic achievement of socialism. All Soviet republics are now developing steadily and dynamically. These results are convincing evidence of the fruitfulness of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU and its tested principles of equality, fraternal cooperation and voluntary participation, which lie at the basis of the consolidation of the fraternal friendship of all peoples of the multinational Soviet Union in the stage of mature socialism. This tendency is reflected in the accelerating, comprehensive coming together of the country's nations and nationalities, in the development of a new historic community--the Soviet people.

The clear facets of this socialist way of life--collectivism and comradeship, friendship of all the country's nations and nationalities, moral health and social optimism--are not only perfected and refined in the process of communist creation, but also serve as an inspirational basis for all of the society's transformations.

The Party and the government are constantly taking into account the importance of a favorable situation in the international arena for the country's economic and social development. The approach of the CPSU and the Soviet state to international affairs is principally the same as it is for domestic ones: it reflects the interests and aspirations of the working people. Therefore the domestic and foreign policies of the Party and state are the same in their social content: within the country this content is revealed in the creative labor of the Soviet people who are constructing communism, and in the international arena--in the consistent struggle of the USSR for the consolidation of peace.

The Soviet people responded with deep understanding to the idea L. I. Brezhnev expressed at the 26th CPSU Congress to the effect that it is not preparation for war, which dooms peoples to senseless waste of their material and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace that is the guiding path into tomorrow. And if the Soviet Union strengthens its defense capability and spends a certain amount of its budget funds on this, withdrawing them from peaceful construction, it is forced to do this by the unconcealed threat of war on the part of the aggressive circles of imperialism. Were it not for this threat the country's economy would develop

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more successfully and the people would live better. Our desire for this is clearly expressed in the Program of Peace, and our concrete suggestions are widely known.

The long-term plans of the Soviet Union are based on the goal of developing extensive and multilateral communication with other peoples, above all mutually advantageous economic cooperation. We proceed from the idea that the Soviet economy is a constituent part of the world economy and is connected to it by various kinds of relations, which must be strengthened in the common interests of all peoples.

Naturally, the Soviet Union tries primarily to develop in all ways ties with countries of the socialist community. We are firmly joined together by our common socio-economic structure and close interaction in the construction and defense of socialism. While maintaining this unshakeable basis, we are constantly improving the mechanisms of business cooperation. The long-term target programs that have been adopted in recent years have contributed to deepening socialist economic integration. The fruits of production specialization can be seen in practically all branches of economics, science and technology. The coordination of long-term national economic plans of the CEMA countries is being improved. The sister countries are now taking a course for transforming the 1980's into a period of intensive production and scientific-technical cooperation among the countries of socialism. On the agenda are such problems as bringing the structures of the economic mechanisms closer together, further developing direct ties among ministries, associations and enterprises that are participating in the cooperation, and creating joint firms. The Main Directions set the task of searching out new possibilities for the development of cooperation in order to utilize efficiently the scientific-technical and production potential as well as the material, financial and labor resources of the countries of the socialist community in order to solve through common efforts the problems of intensification and the creation of additional sources of commodity resources.

The experience the CEMA countries have accumulated in cooperation shows that the problems of increasing the efficiency and improving the quality of work which are coming to the fore are resolved more successfully as our economic organizations make greater mutual demands in business relations. The economic ties of the states, which are based on the principles of solidarity and fraternal mutual assistance, should be reinforced with good accounting which leads to mutual advantage. We see in further deepening and improvement of multilateral cooperation with sister countries not only an important factor in overall economic and social progress, but also an effective means of consolidating the positions of socialism in the world economy, and protecting the socialist countries from the influence of unfavorable tendencies that are manifested in the world capitalist economy.

While taking these tendencies into account, the USSR is still consistently entering into stable, mutually advantageous ties with capitalist countries and the expansion of business relations in various forms. In this connection it is appropriate to emphasize that the USSR and other countries of the socialist community are exerting a stabilizing influence on the world markets and the general market conditions. In Western European countries alone the export orders from the socialist states provide employment for about 2 million people. So no one can doubt the mutual advantage of cooperation. And, today business cooperation is the

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economic basis of peace, an important factor in good relations among people and the maintenance and development of human civilization.

The line of the Soviet Union toward extensive, all-around international cooperation is unchanged; it is our principal course, which reflects the purposive direction of the policy of the CPSU and Soviet government toward the prevention of war, the deepening of detente, mutual understanding among peoples of all nations and nationalities, and the ensurance of conditions for world social progress.

We are fully aware that the implementation of the immense program for the economic and social development of the Soviet society that was advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress will require great efforts and the solutions to many complex domestic and international problems.

At the present time our party's Central Committee and the Soviet government are concentrating their attention on the implementation of practical measures for realizing the historic decisions of the 26th Party Congress. The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that took place in November 1981 made another important step-- after the adoption of the economic policy for the 80's at the congress, it comprehensively considered and basically approved the draft of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR During 1981-1985. The plan concretizes the aims of the 26th CPSU Congress for the first half of the 1980's.

A large amount of organizational work is being done. Special attention is being devoted to improving the administration of the economy and further developing the economic mechanism so that it will contribute more fully to the disclosure and utilization of the immense potential of the society of mature socialism.

As L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th Party Congress, we are optimists, we look confidently into the future, for we believe in the force of labor, in our country and in our people, we believe in our party and we know that the path it indicates is the only true path. It leads to the realization of communist ideals.

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BURLATSKIY ON ECONOMIC, POLITICAL INEFFECTIVENESS

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 12, Dec 81 pp 165-168

[Review by F. M. Burlatskiy of book "Sotsial'nyy Progress I. Upravleniye" [The Social Process and Management] by P. V. Kerimova, Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, 173 pages]

[Text] The book attracts one's attention by the very way that the problem is put. Indeed, to examine management from the point of view of the extent to which it assists the progress of society is the most fruitful position--both from the point of view of theory and from the point of view of practice.

As was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, the chief problem of our economic and social development is to increase efficiency. And efficiency to a great extent depends upon good management and modern forms of the organization of the labor process and of all of social life. Without pretending to a study of all of the aspects of management, the author concentrates his basic attention on an analysis of the feedback relations which are formed during the course of management between its subject and its object. It sets itself the goal of studying not only the conscious regulation of social relations which is carried out through the participation of people in the managerial process, but also the regulating influence which is achieved without the direct intervention in these relations from the agencies of management. Later, managerial questions themselves (the principles of the organizational structure of the managerial system, the content, forms, and methods of managerial influence, and others) are examined in the book as a part of the more general problems of the functioning of the social system as a whole.

This kind of approach seems to be a fundamentally correct one insofar as management cannot be analyzed in isolation from social self-management. Attempts to examine the process of social production and of all of social development on a basis of the dichotomy "decision-execution" cannot provide any kind of serious scientific result. This profoundly contradicts the practice of the functioning of socialist society. First of all, the very decision which is taken by the managing agency is a complex process during the course of which account is taken of the interests and opinions of both the managers and of those being managed, of society, and of its individual groups. Secondly, the execution of a decision depends not only upon its judiciousness and advisability, but also upon the degree to which the performers have consciously believed in it and have adopted it as their own decision, and upon how zealously they seek and find methods for its

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optimal realization in life. For this reason, a study of the feedback relations in the managerial process is one of the most important preconditions for improving it.

The author is correct when he writes that the functions of management are realized both through the mechanisms of conscious and directed influence which is carried out by the state, the party, and other social institutions and through the regulation of social processes which occur objectively, without the participation of special agencies of management. The basic features of the organization and character of management are determined by the socio-economic and political characteristics of the system and depend upon the level of production, science, and culture, upon the position of the individual, the social activeness of the masses, and the rates at which society moves along the path of social progress.

One can say more: the degree of the development of society and the level of its social progress are determined, in particular, by the extent to which society is capable of using the objective forms of self-regulation. Interest and level of culture are the most important categories of this self-regulation. In those places where economic, social, and cultural progress respond to the greatest degree to the interests of each class, each social group, and every individual, and in those places where all of these groups and individuals consciously and voluntarily work for this process--it is precisely there that society has reached the highest level of its development. The fundamental advantage of socialism as a system consists above all in the fact that there is no need here to drive on workers either with extra-economic methods of coercion, as under feudalism, or with economic methods of pressure (fear of unemployment, the competitive struggle, and so forth), as under capitalism. For this reason, those researchers are mistaken who are seeking a method with the help of which it will be possible to "organize" and "regulate" social relations under socialism. The problem as a matter of fact is in the opposite: in the creation of the conditions, social stimuli, and personal interests in increasing the production-social activeness of every member of society. A judicious "measure" of management from above and of self-management from below has to be found.

The author devotes a great deal of attention to the concept of management as a variety of social activity. It is characterized in the book with the following features. First, management is formed on the basis of the need to organize the labor of many people and is connected with the necessity for maintaining order in the most basic social cells such as unifications of a system type. Secondly, management presupposes that foresight, planning, the adoption of decisions, and controls over performance which are connected with the regulation of joint human activity are becoming a special function whose realization has been made the responsibility of a special system, or, as it is customary to call it, management operators. This system which unites a relatively small collective of people is specialized on an especial type of work which is necessary to establish, maintain, and improve the very organization of affairs. Thirdly, social management appears as an institutionalized activity which is performed by the corresponding system of agencies and organizations that possess an entire arsenal of diverse means of purposefully influencing social life.

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One more feature which characterizes the concept of management can be added to this. Social management presupposes the participation in the managerial process of those who are the object of management, that is, the preponderant part of society which, although it does not specialize in managerial activity, without which the entire managerial process would be deprived of any meaning. This mass of managed has to agree to allow itself to be managed. This agreement is reached in different societies by different means--direct coercion, the implantation of a definite morality and ideology, and traditions of behavior. However, under all conditions the passive or active participation in the managerial process of those whom science with a certain amount of snobbism calls the object of management is undoubtedly an essential feature of the very concept of management.

It is precisely this most important aspect of management--the behavior of those being managed--that determines the effectiveness of the entire managerial process. Concrete sociological research which has been conducted in our country has shown a quite high percentage of managerial decisions which are either not carried out in full, or are carried out partially and with poor quality. The reason for such a phenomenon has to be sought not only in the irrationality of the decisions which are made. It is also, and frequently primarily, in the level of understanding of the decision by its executors and, especially, in the degree of their interest in putting it into practice.

In this connection, it is not possible, in our view, to agree with one proposition which is stated in the book--regarding the demarcation of the concepts of management and regulation. The author, along with other scholars, believes that the regulating influence is effected by the forces of the object itself without the intervention of the subject of management (page 67), although in the introduction it is stated that the concepts of management and regulation are used as identical ones.

It seems to me that both of these points of view are insufficiently well grounded. In the scholarly literature, for example, the following demarcation has developed: under socialism the management of the economy is carried out by the state, while under capitalism the state carries out only the function of regulating economic activity. In this case regulation is understood as minimum managerial influence. On the other hand, it is also understood as self-regulation.

Consequently, regulation is one of the partial forms of management which is characterized by a minimum intervention by the subject into the managerial process. It is not accidental that in her subsequent argument T. V. Kerimova prefers to use the concept correlation of "self-regulation" and "management."

T. V. Kerimova later characterizes certain specific features of the social process under socialism. She shows, first, that under socialism there occurs a subordination to society of the anarchic forces which held sway over people in all preceding formations; secondly, the communist type of historical progress is characterized by the fact that it develops as a broad social movement of the

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workers themselves who actively and creatively participate in the creation of a new system. The consciousness of historical action, the author emphasizes, is achieved when every member of society shows initiative and creatively and actively participates in the life of society. This is possible when the members of society possess a community of fundamental interests, have uniform goals, and strive for the same ideals. In their turn, the realization of these interests and the achievement of the goals and ideals demand the united efforts of the popular masses acting in a directed, planned, and organized manner.

Interesting reflections. The point is that in our literature where the growth of the subjective factor in social life is correctly emphasized, this process is interpreted chiefly from the point of view of the activities of the state and of other leading institutions of society. In fact, more extensive possibilities for social progress are opened up not only because society obtains the opportunity of consciously planning its development. Of no less importance is the fact that the popular masses join in the struggle for social progress and join in it in an interested and conscious manner. If this second factor "limps," the former one does not operate sufficiently. An excessive emphasis on the subjective factor without abstracting it from objective conditions, possibilities, and resources is doubtful both theoretically and practically speaking. The supporters of this kind of exaggeration refer to the well-known ideas of Marx and Engels: "Communism differs from all previous movements in that it accomplishes a revolution in the very basis of all previous production and social relations and for the first time looks upon all spontaneous preconditions as the creations of previous generations, deprives these preconditions of their spontaneous nature and subordinates them to the power of united individuals."* It should not be forgotten, however, that this statement applied to complete communism under which all of the potentialities which exist in it will be uncovered.

In this connection, the author's reflections regarding the subject and the object of socialist management are worthy of attention. She writes about two flows of information which come together. While the first flow which proceeds from the subject of management and which contains a single basis determines the overall program of action for some kind of social formation, the second, which proceeds from the object, supplements and enriches this program, and sometimes makes important corrections in it (page 102). However, the author's conclusion about the coincidence of the subject and object of socialist management does not appear to be entirely justified. It contradicts reality and, besides that, the conclusions which were drawn in the book earlier about the fact that management is the activity of a definite group of people who are professionally employed in this work.

A logical continuation of the author's general orientation toward studying feedback in the managerial process is the idea that normative regulation should affect only the general and most important aspects of the creative initiatives

*K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 3, pp 70-71

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and independent movements of the workers (page 105). In the correct opinion of the author, the wide dissemination of progressive initiatives and their transformation from an exceptional phenomenon into a norm of life demands both a most careful study of the independent experience of the masses (management "from below") and an improvement of the entire system of the scientific management of society. The movement for the development and production of plans for the social development of labor collectives which is widely developed in our country is an example of this kind of unity of management "from above" and "from below."

A number of important and interesting theoretical problems which have a direct connection with political practice are raised in the last chapter of the book. Touching upon the question of the place of the political system and, above all, of the state in the categories of base and superstructure, D. V. Kerimova makes a number of corrections in the simplified ideas that are current in certain philosophical works. She emphasizes that the state becomes increasingly deeply involved in economic life and covers an ever wider range of relations with its regulating influence. However, "the strengthened economic role of the socialist state is sometimes unjustifiably interpreted as its transformation into a base phenomenon" (page 117). While not agreeing with this point of view, subsequently the author nevertheless organizes her reflections on an understanding of the special role of the state and of the political system among the other superstructural phenomena. It is stated in the book that "the thesis that the functions of the state in all of their manifestations belong to the superstructure cannot be absolutized and employed to explain all of the processes of the economic life of socialist society. The concepts of base and superstructure are philosophical abstractions which throw light on the question of the relationship between material and ideological relations. In reality, however, there occurs a close interpenetration and interdetermination of base and superstructure phenomena. For this reason, a description of the mechanism of practical economic management in which state agencies take the most direct and active part has to be performed in the categories not only of historical materialism, but of other sciences also. But in one way or another the recognition of the state as a base phenomenon excludes the possibility of a scientific explanation of the laws of the development of the state and of changes in its functions, including an expansion of its economic role" (pages 118-119). Interesting reflections, although, from my point of view, they are not indisputable.

Let us pose the question on the same level: Are we to say that the recognition of the state as an exclusively superstructural phenomenon which is interpreted as the "totality of ideological social relations" (page 117) does not exclude the possibility of a scientific explanation of the laws of its development? Are we to understand that the state which, in Lenin's words, represents a special group of people, the machine of management, can be interpreted as an exclusively ideological phenomenon? Are the state and the political system not to the same degree an objective phenomenon, the social milieu, as the economy in which people live and in which their social consciousness is formed? No, things are not so simple here as it appears to those who attempt to reduce the state and the entire political system to the totality of ideological relations. Especially since as

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a result of the socialist revolutions the state acts as a factor in the creation and formation of new production socialist relations by means of the socialization of property and the regulation of all social relations.

It seems to me that the philosophical solution of this problem requires a clarification of two points. First: an understanding of the state, as of other social institutions, is usefully connected first of all with the categories of "social existence" and "social consciousness." No one would deny that the state unquestionably is a part of the concept of social existence, that is, it belongs to the category of the objective conditions of social life which form and regulate social consciousness. Second: in speaking about the place of the state in the base and superstructure system, it is essential to clarify the very concept of superstructure. In my view, it is not entirely correct to define superstructural phenomena as the totality of ideological social relations. In such a case the concept of ideology is interpreted too broadly--it includes political, moral, and many other forms of social relations and consciousness. The classical definition which was given by K. Marx in the Preface to the "Critique of the Political Economy" is the starting point for an understanding of the relationship between base and superstructure. We shall not cite it here since it is generally known. We shall only point out that in this both views and institutions belong to superstructural phenomena. The state is an institution and, moreover, under socialism it is the kind of institution which envelops all of society, including the economy. But I repeat: we shall be much closer to an understanding of the contemporary forms of the development and functioning of the state if we proceed from the categories of "social existence" and "social consciousness."

In essence, this whole dispute would not be of any great importance for the practice of management and would be of interest only to teachers of philosophy if not for one circumstance. We are talking about the relationship between economics and politics. Here both extremes are equally harmful: both an exaggeration of the role of politics and a depiction of it as some kind of command force which, at its own discretion, can form and reform the economic process, and an underestimation of the role of politics and, consequently, of the state, of law, and of the entire political system of society as an active factor in the development and stimulation or in the retardation and destabilization of the economic process.

The small but thought-saturated book by T. V. Kerimova advances the study of the problems of social management in close connection with the development and functioning of the other aspects of the life of socialist society.

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